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ples to the evils of the war system, and the desirableness and practicability of maintaining Permanent International Peace, resolves :—

1.—That it is the special and solemn duty of all Ministers of Religion, Instructors of Youth, and Conductors of the Public Press, to employ their great influence in the diffusion of pacific principles and sentiments, and in eradicating from the minds of men those hereditary animosities and political and commercial jealousies, which have so often been the cause of disastrous Wars.

2.—That, as an appeal to the sword can settle no question on any principle of equity and right, it is the duty of Governments to refer to the decision of competent and impartial Arbitrators such differences arising between them as cannot be otherwise amicably adjusted.

3.—That the Standing Armies, with which the Governments of Europe menace each other amid professions of mutual friendship and confidence, being a prolific source of social immorality, financial embarrassment, and national suffering, while they excite constant disquietude and irritation among the nations, this Congress would earnestly urge upon the Governments the imperative necessity of entering upon a system of International Disarmament.

4.—This Congress, regarding the system of negotiating Loans for the prosecution of War, or the maintenance of warlike armaments, as immoral in principle, and disastrous in operation, renews its emphatic condemnation of all such Loans.

5.—This Congress, believing that the intervention, by threatened or actual violence, of one country in the internal politics of another, is a frequent cause of bitter and desolating wars, maintains that the right of every State to regulate its own affairs should be held absolute and inviolate.

6.—The Congress recommends all the friends of Peace to prepare public opinion in their respective countries with a view to the formation of an authoritative Code of International Law.

7.—This Congress expresses its strong abhorrence of the system of aggression and violence practised by so-called civilized nations upon aboriginal and uncivilized tribes, as leading to incessant and exterminating wars, eminently unfavorable to the true progress of religion, civilization and commerce.

8.—The Congress recommend the members of Peace Societies in all constitutional countries to use their influence in returning to their respective Parliaments representatives who are friends of Peace, and who will be prepared to support by their votes measures for the diminution of the number of men employed in, and the amount of money expended for, war purposes.

9.—This Congress, convinced that whatever brings the nations of the earth together in intimate and friendly intercourse, must tend to the establishment of Peace, by removing misapprehensions and prejudices, and inspiring mutual respect, hails, with unqualified satisfaction, the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, as eminently calculated to promote that end.

ADDRESSES.

The rules of the Congress allowed none but members to take part in its proceedings; and hence every speaker is of course to be considered as a member. Though our limits will admit only a portion of what is reported, for the most part with singular accuracy, in the London Herald of Peace for August, we shall give, mainly in the order in which they were delivered, the principal speeches either entire, or such extracts as will present a pretty full outline of the argument. Most of the speakers addressed themselves, much more than is usual on such occasions, to the specific subject under

consideration ; and thus their remarks indicate the course and progress of business during the successive sessions of the Congress.

DUTIES OF PREACHERS, INSTRUCTORS, AND EDITORS, TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

Rev. JOHN ANGELL JAMES, Congregational Pastor, Birmingham :—

I am glad that among the several means specified in the resolution which I have been appointed to move, for correcting public sentiment on the great question which has brought us together, the full influence of the pulpit sustains so distinguished a place. It would have been strange if this had not been the case, whether we consider its powers, or its guilty neglect of this momentous subject. It would not be unseemly in me unduly to magnify my office by any exaggerated representations of the importance of this instrument of public enlightenment, nor to put it invidiously in comparison with other means. But all will readily concede to me the power of oratory and eloquence over the human soul. The generality of mankind are usually much more impressed by what is delivered by the living voice in the place of public concourse, than by what is silently read in the silence and solitude of the closet. The book speaks through the eye to only one person at a time ; the sermon speaks through the ear to hundreds or to thousands at the same moment ; the author is in contact with only one mind at a time ; the preacher with the minds of a whole congregation. When it is considered, therefore, that hundreds of thousands of preachers are every week, and have been through a long succession of ages, speaking to millions and millions of people, we do not hesitate to say that, had the pulpit in every place and in every age of its existence done its duty, there had been no need of this Congress ; and war, in Christendom at least, and thus perhaps in all the world besides, had existed only as a foul blot upon the history of the past.

The pulpit has been in part recreant to its trust. Men whose lips should have echoed the strains of the angels' song, making the earth vocal with the notes of peace thus proclaimed ; who should have been employed in extinguishing the flames of war, and trampling out the fire of their smouldering ashes, have, instead of this, too often fanned the languid spark, and exasperated the passions that have filled the earth with carnage and misery. Too often has the soldier's coat, if not literally, yet in spirit, been thrown over the preacher's gown. To me it always has appeared to be one of the most affecting and revolting spectacles on earth to see Christianity dragged to the drum-head to consecrate the yet unstained banner, and made to seek the benediction of the God of peace upon the symbol of slaughter. It is, however, only the work of its ministers, while Christianity stands by blushing and weeping over the deeds which are done in her name. Doubtless, these men are conscientious in this sanction given to error ; and to be conscientiously wrong is one of the most dangerous aberrations from what is right.

Where, sir, in what page of its records, does Christianity sanction war as it is carried on in modern warfare ? Is it in the angels' song at the birth of Christ, “ Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men ? ” Is it in the benediction promised by our Divine Lord on the peace-makers ? Is it in his command to love our enemies, and, when smitten on one cheek, to turn, without resistance or revenge, the other to the offender ? Is it in the apostle's injunction, rather to suffer wrong than in a litigious spirit to seek redress even before a civil tribunal ? Is it, in short, in the whole genius and spirit of Christianity ? Is it not strange that Christianity should have been eighteen centuries delivering its lessons in our world, and that men should be so ignorant of its nature and duties, as to need to be told that it is hostile to the spirit of *war* ?

It is this propensity to hostility, on the part of so many who profess it,

that has alienated so many from it, and fostered the infidelity of the age. How often are we met with the taunt, that Christendom has been as deeply involved in this dreadful practice as the Pagan and Mahomedan nations. We deplore the fact; but we deny that it is sanctioned by the New Testament. Tell us not of the foul deeds that have been perpetrated in the name of Christianity—that her princes have been ambitious, and her priests rapacious—that one has drawn the sword, and unfurled the banner under the benediction of the other—and that both have met in the camp, the crusade and the battle field, covered with blood, and revelling in slaughter. The question is not what her sacred name has been abused to sanctify; but has it been performed by her authority, has it accorded with her principles, and been congenial with her spirit? Ignorance and hypocrisy have often assumed a Christian guize, more successfully to carry out the purposes of knavery and rapine; but when they have violated her maxims, set at defiance her commands, despised her remonstrances, and stifled her cries, shall they be allowed to plead her authority in justification of their doings? Not only Christianity herself, but common honesty says, No.

But now a brighter era is dawning upon us, of which the indications are to be found not only in this Congress, but in the fact that so large a number of the ministers of religion are heard mingling with senators, philosophers and philanthropists of so many nations. Honor be to you, my brethren, for this act; and honor to our holy religion. We are in our right place in being here, blending our efforts with those of other men. And what is our business here? To record our protest against the crimes and miseries of war, and the folly and wickedness of appealing to the sword for the settlement of international disputes, instead of pacific arbitrators and negotiation; to assert the progress of a new and better sentiment; and to give ourselves afresh to promote, by the influence of the pulpit, the glorious work of perpetual and universal peace. And I could now almost ask you to rise and thus pledge yourselves to this labor of love. [The ministers here rose, amidst the loud cheering of the assembly, and thus accepted the challenge.]

Gentlemen, I thank you for that response. It proves I had not misunderstood your sentiments, or miscalculated your zeal in this cause. Have faith in your vocation—have confidence in the power of the pulpit. Nearly all the organized evils of existence, if it were properly wielded, would flee before it. The power of the pulpit would destroy American slavery. The power of the pulpit would go far to destroy English intemperance. And the power of the pulpit would be strong enough to destroy the system of war. We are more responsible for these things than any other class of men whatever—responsible to God, our country, and posterity.

I say again, a better state of things is approaching. I know very well there are four millions of men under arms in Europe; I know also what a seemingly petty incident may call all those to deadly strife; and it is quite possible, if not even probable, that a deadly struggle may impend. Still, the reign of peace is coming. Many a bright and beautiful day has been ushered in by a terrific thunder-storm, and while the thunders were rolling, day was advancing behind the cloud that sent them forth. Let Europe be again involved in battle and bloodshed, still here in this our Congress is the dawn of the day of peace. Take courage, then, Christian brethren in carrying on your pacific schemes. Your children, or your children's children, may hear the last peals of war die away amidst the shouts of universal peace, and see the commencement of the millennial period of general brotherhood, when Christians, blushing over the crimes of former generations, shall hasten to hide the memorials of their shame, and upon the anvil of revelation, shall, with the brawny arm of reason, "beat the swords into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks."

Rev. W. Brock, *Baptist Pastor, London.* — His speech, though shrewdly adapted to the occasion, and received with marked favor, is very mea-

grely reported. After comparing the Industrial Exhibition and the Peace Congress, and indulging in some good-humored raillery, " he asked a condemnation of artifices of enlistment, of the profligacy of the barrack-system, of the agonies of the battle-field, arguing that these things being wrong might be removed by the force of public opinion. Some years ago there seemed as little possibility of getting the corn-laws repealed as of getting war abolished. Yet the corn-laws were gone, never to return. Slavery had been abolished by public opinion ; and it was still in the power of the press, aided by the influence of the schoolmaster, and backed by the support of the pulpit, to do away with war. In them our hope consisted ; and through them we must look for the time, when, instead of being born 'natural enemies,' we should all bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Rev. DR. ASPINALL, *Episcopal Clergyman, Liverpool*, spoke with much earnestness on the same general topic, and was followed by

Rev. ATHANASE COQUEREL, JR., *Protestant Pastor, Paris*. — It has been thought that it would impart a feature of interest to this stage of the proceedings, if the voice of a Frenchman supported the eloquent speeches which you have heard delivered by English voices, and which have recommended the cause of peace with so much fervor to the special care of ministers of religion, to instructors of youth, and to all who are in any way connected with the press and the literature of the day. I shall not presume to add a single word to what has been so energetically said by my respected brethren of various churches, on the duties of pastors with reference to this question. Yet, if I mistake not, there remains something to be said to the instructors of youth, and to the directors of the periodical press, with regard to their duties to the cause of peace.

Before, however, I present the few succinct observations I purpose to make on this part of the question, and the few simple recommendations which I intend to urge upon their attention in as few words as possible, I beg to be allowed to remove an obstacle which seems to lie across the very path along which we desire to travel. According to some minds, it is useless to advocate international peace from the pulpit, in schools, or through the medium of the press. If this work is to be done, we are told that we are not the people to do it. If this great end is possible of attainment, it is not we who will conduct humanity to this consummation. No ! It will be attained by the progress of science, by the perfection of labor, by the extension of railroads, electric telegraphs, international exhibitions of industry. It is not by our efforts that universal peace will be brought about ; it will come of itself, and will be found established, without anybody's having wrought to advance the day.

Gentlemen, if this were even true, if it could possibly be that perpetual peace should be established as the simple effect of material progress, it would not be enough. There would be no dignity in a progress which humanity should realize without knowing it, without willing it. The world is not made to advance blindfold ; to stumble rather towards an end of which it is ignorant ; or to be passively dragged thitherwards by an unknown and an unfelt fatality. In this there would be no dignity, there would not be even security. Woe to the nations, when there shall be material progress, without equally great, or greater intellectual, moral and religious progress. In such case, an enormous force would be developed without a regulator, without a counter-balance, and a terrible explosion must be the result ; because material power will have outgrown its limits, and there will exist no moral energy to lift itself up against, and to direct it.

But there is more to be said. It is not true — it never will be true — to assert, that it is sufficient for humanity to advance without knowing it, and only through simple material progress. God did not create humanity for this. It is not sufficient that it should advance. Humanity must desire,

must will it; must feel that it is advancing; must know, too, whether it is tending, and why it progresses in this or that particular direction. It is quite true that railways, electricity, international exhibitions of universal industry draw people together, strengthen the bonds of their intimacy, and tend to render peace permanent; but the people must know this, and feel it too, and you are here to tell them so. You are here at this moment, the conscience of humanity; and it is in virtue of this title, that you are arresting its attention to a great change which is now taking place in its very heart and centre, but which ought not to be, and cannot be realized, unless it have the knowledge of it. You are revealing what is passing in its own bosom, and are hastening progress by the manifestation of it. This is the end of this Congress.

You are right, then, not to attribute the destinies of our cause to the material developments of industry. You are right in requiring all those who have assumed the office of instructing human nature, of all those who listen to it, of ministers of religion, teachers, and journalists, that they should boldly take this grand work in hand. Teachers can do much. They have in this respect an important change to operate in the ideas of humanity, because, up to the present time, the youthful generation have been instructed according to a system of education and of history absolutely false; and in which war has been made to appear, and has been regarded, not only as one of the greatest and noblest things in this world, but as the chief of all that is greatest and noblest. It is war which, according to this system, has monopolized all the men of history, and which in history itself holds the first place. It would appear as though past ages had nothing more instructive to impart to us, than an interminable list of sieges and battles. We have all of us read Roman history, to wit. Well, in studying it through the medium of those admirable writers who have transmitted it to our days, we have, all of us perhaps, been led away by the charms of their style, and the spiritedness of their narrative, and ranged ourselves with them on the side of oppression, of perfidious policy, of insatiable ambition, and of ferocious and frenetic pride, against weakness and good right. And, in fact, the history of Rome is but an endless poem, a long romance, of which war is the subject, and in which all is exaggeration and forgery. I behold continually passing before my wearied eyes, the triumphal car of the victor; I hear the loud and prolonged acclamations, and the boisterous shouts of inebriate admiration which greet him on his passage; but I never hear the frantic sobs of orphans, and the maledictions of mothers.

Yet in this false order of ideas is youth brought up. When war is spoken of to children, it is exhibited to them, not in its reality, but under brilliant and deceptive appearances. The troops are shown to them arrayed in order, as they set out on the march for the battle-field to the sound of the trumpet, clothed in uniforms of gaudy colors, bedizened with trappings, shining with tinsel and spangles, their feathers and plumes waving, their banners floating in the breeze, and yielding to every puff; their murderous arms glittering in the sunshine, and that — that is shown to their infant minds, and pointed out as war! Ah! why not rather show us — why not show your children that same army on its return; or rather explain to them why, out of all those thousands of men, so few come back? Why not tell them where the rest are? Then they would see plumes and feathers broken — but never mind that; standards torn and ripped, helmets and cuirasses beaten in, and swords snapt in twain — never mind even that; but what *would* matter, they would see and understand what had become of those manly hearts which were so recently throbbing beneath those cuirasses — of those noble fronts on which God had impressed the stamp of his own image, and which so lately beamed with a scintillation of his own immortality and intelligence. To this very day, when glory has been

spoken of, either to men or to children, military glory has been vaunted at the expense of glory of every other kind. Military glory has been accepted as something grand and noble; but what if it presented itself to our view as the accomplice of Macbeth — its hands dripping with blood! Then errors must be dissipated, and henceforth only that kind of glory must be accepted as belonging to the first class, which shall be guiltless of human blood. Teachers must instruct children to know that there are other kinds of glory, far more brilliant than that which hovers over camps and over gory battle-fields. Let them take the rising generation to that magnificent festival of industry, which the English people have given to all the other peoples of the world — a festival, allow me to add, worthy of the great nation that has given it, and of the whole human race which has accepted it. And in whose honor is this festival given? And who is the heroine of it? It is labor! Labor in every form, from the rudest to the most complicated. As I contemplated those multitude of marvels which labor has created, I thought of the thousands of human hands which had wrought — of the phalanx of human intelligences which had pondered and thought, in every quarter of the globe, to bring about this prodigious result. Yes; and when I remembered that a prince had placed himself at the head of this countless army of operatives, I said to myself — Here indeed is the chief of the grandest and most glorious army that a prince ever had. Conquerors have had 600,000 soldiers under their command; but he counts his by millions. Theirs were instruments of destruction and death; his to think, work, produce, create. And his glory, at once more novel and more worthy than their vulgar warlike fame, has not cost one drop of blood, nor one single tear. And this is the kind of glory and fame in the love of which our children must be nurtured, and which their instructors must henceforward teach them to admire and to venerate.

Further, this work which you this day bequeath to the instructors of youth, to the ministers of religion, and to the public press, is common to their one great duty, and is indeed identical. All three should lead humanity. The mission of the one is to hold aloft the divine torch of faith; of the other, to prepare the mind to receive the first gleams of science; and of the third, to shed the light of public reason on every fact, and on every question of the day. Wherefore the cause of peace ought to be taken up by the press and by the other two classes with single-hearted devotedness. But is this the case? What is a journalist? He is an individual who, on rising every morning, asks himself what novelty he can present to his readers the next day. He is ever on the hunt for novelty, and ever on the alert to publish what he knows his readers want and ask for. But what happens? If a cause presenting itself under an aspect too novel, perhaps, comes in his way, and requires his support; if, to wit, it should be some great movement without precedent in the past, he hesitates; he is afraid of the very novelty he was seeking, and which he has found — he is afraid of compromising the credit of his journal — he is afraid of what his "constant readers" and "regular subscribers" may think and say about it — as yet public opinion has not expressed itself; the question is yet uncanvassed. "I will wait," he says; yes, and he does wait. *He* waits; *he* whose mandate ought to forestall, on every question that which he calls public opinion. He waits. And for what? That others may go before him, and make his path straight and plain. When will public journalists have greater courage, a courage more worthy of their high position? When will they of themselves dare, yes, dare with a high hand, to take up new causes — young causes, so to speak — causes yet undecided, instead of pleading the same suits day after day; suits which have been gained a thousand times already, or perhaps as many times lost.

You, all of you, believe that peace is better than war! — at least you say so. Well, then, be consistent to the end. Since you admit war to be a

absurdity, do have the boldness, the honesty to tell your readers that war will come to an end ; that humanity has not dedicated itself to absurdity ; that it is not to absurdity the future belongs. Tell them that reason will end by doing itself justice, by showing that it is in the right ; that good would not be good, if its very essence were not to reform what is evil, sooner or later. Tell them that it is not a destroying power—a power without a name, that reigns above us—but an all-paternal and infinite wisdom. And teach them—ah ! yes, and you yourselves also learn—to have faith, unshaken faith, in the future of all good causes.

In conclusion, let me be permitted to say one word concerning an enemy whom we have all found tracking our footsteps on this question—sarcasm. No one fears sarcasm and raillery more than the journalist ; and it must be admitted that he is more exposed to it than almost any other individual. Thus he scarcely ever writes upon any unusual subject, without his imagination conjuring up the spectacle of all his rivals, with their pens pointed towards him, ready to overwhelm him with epigrams, should he give way to his predilection, and write up his new idea. Hence the estrangement of the public press with reference to all those great causes, that have been made convenient objects at which to discharge the shafts of sarcasm. And it is impossible it should be otherwise. It is the fate of every good cause. Let us remember that to avoid this kind of attack, we must have on our side that which is impossible and contradictory ; that is, we ought to have for our allies all the errors and all the passions which mislead the world ; we ought to clash with nothing, to deny nothing, to be in no one's way—in a word, we ought to be nothing. Point me out the good cause which at its advent was not the object of raillery, and which was not assailed by similar derision. Not one ! No, not one, from one end of history to the other. When the Truth Incarnate appeared in the world—when the Son of God descended upon earth—how was he received by men ? With wrong, with sarcasm, with blasphemy in their mouths, which they hurled at him. What did they say to HIM ? “Thou art thyself possessed of a devil, and dost thou cast out devils ? Physician cure thyself !” Yes ! and at that awful and sublime moment when he was carrying out his devotedness to man, to the extreme limit even of self-sacrifice—at the moment of his death, what did the scoffers shout in his ears ? “He saved others ; himself he cannot save ! If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross !” Ah ! doubtless he had the power of doing so. He might, even in that moment of agony, have manifested himself in all his glory ; have confounded his enemies ; have overwhelmed and annihilated them with the dazzling blaze of his omnipotency. But no ; he would not. And what was his reply to sarcasm, and scorn, and contumely ? Not a word, but a fact. He died ! He, omnipotent as he was, remained motionless, nailed to the cross, and then gave up the ghost. With divine calmness he completed his work. He did not save himself—he saved man. And this was his reply to sarcasm.

Gentlemen, I do not compare, I do not presume to institute a comparison, between the work of the Redeemer and ours. Such a comparison would not be permitted me. But our Divine Master set us an example ; and, as he has himself told us, he set us that example, that we should follow it. Let us do so, then ; let us do so perseveringly. In spite of all the raillery and sarcasm of the worldly wise, let us persevere in an enterprise which we know to be good and just, and which we think it is our duty to prosecute to the end. Yes, let us all persevere ; ministers of religion, instructors of youth, conductors of the public press ; let us persevere in the straight path of conscience and of truth, and let us not be one instant diverted from our purpose and our course by the fear of a sarcasm. Let us bring to bear all the influence that our speech or our pen may possess, to advance this great and sacred cause of permanent and universal peace. I support the

proposed resolution with my whole heart's strength, and with all the energy of my faith."

On the same general theme spoke also a Spaniard from Madrid, DON SOLER, in good English, with much effect, and likewise a French Editor of an educational journal at Paris, M. JULES DELBRUCK, some of whose remarks were given in English to the Congress by Mr. COBDEN, for the benefit especially of parties. — ' His friend had spoken about the necessity for care in the choice of toys placed in the hands of children. He had spoken against the custom of giving to children those kind of playthings which would tend to familiarize them to feelings and habits of war — of a custom which he (Mr. Cobden) knew to be very prevalent in France, and to be certainly not unknown in this country, of giving to children, for instance, figures of soldiers for playthings, and teaching them to set up red coats against blue coats. And those little things of tin or lead were made to march against one another with mimic swords and muskets ; and thus the children were early taught to rejoice, if they were English children, when the red coats overthrew the blue coats, and, if they were French, when the blue coats overthrew the red coats ; and he, therefore, recommended mothers to be careful not to allow their children to be accustomed to these mimic scenes of war.'

STIPULATED ARBITRATION AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR.

M. VISSCHERS, of Brussels, *and President of the Peace Congress in 1848,* spoke in English as follows : —

Gentlemen, I support the resolution because I consider arbitration as the rational and practical means, as the only rational and complete means, of settling the differences which arise between nations. Everybody acknowledges the evils of war, its inequity as a mode of determining justice, its deplorable consequences for the life, fortune and security of citizens. It has produced those heavy burthens which make the present generation pay for the errors, follies and crimes of their predecessors.

But some think there is no remedy for the evils of the present state of things, and others recommend remedies which are either inefficacious or unacceptable. Among this latter class of remedies, I would mention a proposal which I have often heard suggested, namely, to invent engines of destruction of so formidable a character as to make war become impossible. The authors of this scheme remind me of the story of a Dutch innkeeper, mentioned by Kant, the celebrated philosopher of Konigsberg, in his *Project of Perpetual Peace*. This worthy innkeeper had taken for his sign, "Eternal Peace;" but, under those words he had painted a church-yard. Others have said, with Franklin, that, considering the uncertainty of the chances of war, it would be preferable, in order to avoid its calamities, to take the dice, and run the hazard of the throw. Others have gone so far as to propose to renew the combat between the Horatii and the Curatii, and to have recourse on both sides to champions. An emperor of the east, it is said, made such a proposal to a prince with whom he was at war ; the chiefs of both parties were to come to a personal encounter. But the prince, like a true barbarian, replied, "a blacksmith who has good tongs, does not take red-hot irons out of the fire with his fingers!"

An advantage which war offers, and which mere chance does not present, (but the thought is shocking to humanity,) is that, after both sides have let loose passions, hatred and fury, the victor secures his triumph, if not by the total destruction of his foes, at least by their partial destruction and by their moral and physical exhaustion. War, indeed, is believed to offer this advantage ; but it renders hatred eternal, and provokes reprisals ; peace alone brings with it peace for sufferings, balm for wounds, and oblivion of injuries.